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BULLETIN OF
Friends
Historical Association

Vol. 35 Spring Number, 1946 No. 1

OLD FRIENDS RECORD BOOK FOUND

By E. Virginia Walker and Dorothy G. Harris

ONE of the first manuscript record books of the Society of Friends in America has recently come to light. As a contemporary account of people and meetinghouses during the earliest period of Maryland Quakerism it is an invaluable document.

The book apparently had been in the possession of a family now no longer members of the Society of Friends but whose ancestor had belonged to Third Haven Meeting near Easton, Maryland. It came to the attention of a present member of that meeting who has made possible its permanent deposit in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College. The volume is a thin one containing 174 numbered pages. A limp brown leather cover protects the aged yellow paper and the sections are loosely sewn to it with heavy brown and white thread. Some of the pages are embellished with scroll work and the handwriting shows the quaint styles of seventeenth century penmanship. Inside the front cover is pasted a memorandum:

> This Book is the first, and Original Record Book of Marriage Certificates & Births and Deaths, of Third-haven Monthly Meeting of Friends, held near Easton Talbot County, Eastern Shore of Maryland commencing 1 Month 29th 1668 and ending 3 month 5th 1755, a period of 87 years.

(A copy of the book has been under the care of the monthly meeting.) The volume is full of the delightful spelling and the curious phraseology of those men and women who were the lifestream of Quakerism in early Maryland.

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The history of the Society of Friends in Maryland began shortly after the rise of Quakerism in England. Elbert Russell in his *History of Quakerism* states that "The first Friend to visit Maryland was Elizabeth Harris who made a number of converts there about Severn and Kent in 1656. Two years later Josiah Coale and Thomas Thurston came into the colony from Virginia on their way to New England and found a considerable response. In 1659 Thurston returned to Maryland. William Robinson, Christopher Holder and Robert Hodgson had large 'convincements' as a result of their labors the same year. . . . In Maryland there were many refugees from Virginia and a few from other places, who were neither Catholics nor Episcopalians. It was chiefly from among these unchurched colonists that the Quaker converts came." [1]

As Friends in Maryland grew in number, meetings were established, and Third Haven Monthly Meeting was set up before 1676. The minutes from that year on are extant, and are deposited in the vaults of the Orphans' Court of Talbot County, Easton, Maryland.[2] There appears to be no evidence that there was a meetinghouse on the site of the present Third Haven meetinghouse at that time. William C. Dunlap has determined from the minutes, however, that "as early as 1679 there were at least two meetinghouses within the bounds of this meeting [i. e. Third Haven Monthly Meeting]. One was located at Betty's Cove and the other at 'Tuccahoe'." [3] The minutes indicate that the meetinghouse at Third Haven was not built until 1684.[4] This is the lovely old frame building used by Third Haven Friends today.

The recently discovered Third Haven record book goes back to a period even earlier than this ancient building of 1684 and the Monthly Meeting minutes of 1676, for it records a marriage

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[1] Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism* (New York, 1942), pp. 44-45.

[2] *A List of the Records of the Meetings Constituting the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends Held at Fifteenth and Race Streets, Philadelphia,* compiled by Morgan Bunting (Philadelphia, 1906), p. 66.

[3] William C. Dunlap, *Quaker Education in Baltimore and Virginia Yearly Meetings* (Philadelphia, 1936), p. 298.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 298.

in 1668 and two marriages in a meetinghouse at Betty's Cove in 1669. These marriages appear on the old record book's first two sheets which are nineteenth century copies, and contain nine summaries of marriage certificates from 1668 to 1677. These summaries were made by Samuel F. Troth in 1870 and are of unusual interest because of the information they contain about people and places of this very early period in Quaker history. The nine marriages recorded are as follows:

1/29/1668	William Southbee Elizabeth Read	at the house of Isaac Abrahams
8/25/1668	Richard Lee Jane Lippit	at the House of Peter Sharp at the Clifts
2/1/1669	Thomas Taylor Elizabeth Marsh	at the house of John Webb at Pattuxon
11/9/1669	Henry Wilcocks Sarah Lewis	at their meeting House at Betteys Cove [5]
11/9/1669	Obadiah Judkin Joan Davis	at their meeting House at Betteys Cove [5]
9/21/1672	Abraham Straunn Mary Halbrook	at the house of Robert Harwood
6/27/1673	Bryan Omelia Mary Lewis	[No place given]
9/9/1673	Ralph Fishborn Sarah Lewis	at Betteys Cove Meeting House
9/25/1677	Abraham Strand Rachel Nicholson	in our meeting at Salem in New Jersey

The account of the marriage of Bryan Omelia and Mary Lewis is of interest because of the use made of the word "church":

> Bryan Omelia . . . and Mary Lewis . . . Joyned and united in marriage, by and with the consent of their Relations, and with the consent of the Church and Churches where they lived, being several times manifested to the men and women's meeting, and soberly in the true fear of God being performed.

The last marriage in the above list appears, also, in the original part of the book. Only four of the copies of marriage certificates include signatures as well as the statement of marriage.

[5] One wonders whether "Betteys Cove" Meeting House may have been the scene of a double wedding.

The names signed to the wedding certificates of 1672-1673 are of particular interest. Among these are the Friends whom George Fox and John Burnyeat met when they visited Maryland in those years, and whom William Edmondson met a few years later.[6] They include:

Elizabeth Abrams	Dennis Hopkins	Margaret Preston
James Barber	John Hoult	Rebecca Preston
William Berry	Joan Judkins	Richard Preston
Thomas Brinkes	Obadiah Judkins	Ann Richardson
Mary Christerson	Robert Kemp	Peter Sharp
Wenlock Christerson	Robert Lambden	Ann Spooner
William Dobbins	Joan Lee	John Spooner
John Edmondson	Richard Lee	Elizabeth Southbee
Sarah Edmondson	William Leeds	William Southbee
Elenor Elston	Mary Lewis	Thomas Vaughan
Ralph Elston	John Lunn	John Webb
Thomas Errington	Thomas Marsh	Henry Wilcocks
Thomas Galpin	James Murphy	Robert Williams
James Hall	Alexander Nash	John Winkfield
Elizabeth Harwood	Bryan Omelia	Henry Woothares
Robert Harwood	John Pemberton	Sarah Woolcott
Robert Hodgson	John Pitt	George Wowes

John Burnyeat had preceded George Fox in coming to America and tells in his journal of Fox's arrival in 1672:

> And in the 2d Month I [John Burnyeat] appointed a Meeting at West-River in Maryland, for all the Friends in the Province, that I might see them together, before I departed. . . . And when the time appointed came, and Friends from all Parts began to come, George Fox, with several Brethren, came from Jamaica, and landed at Pertuxon, and from thence came streight to the Meeting. And there were Friends from all Parts of the Province, where they dwelt, and we had a very large Meeting, which did continue for several days; and a Men- and Womens-Meeting for the setling of Things. . . . And G. F. did wonderfully open the Service thereof unto Friends . . . and all were comforted and edified.

John Burnyeat writes also, "And then when all was over, and we all clear, and all sweet and pleasant among Friends," he

[6] John Edmondson, Robert Harwood, John Pitt, Peter Sharp, William Southbee, and Henry Wilcocks are mentioned by name in the Journals of George Fox, John Burnyeat, and William Edmondson.

went with George Fox to "The Clefts" for a large meeting and finally "took boat and went over to the Eastern-shore." There John Burnyeat "took Horse at John Pitts at the Head of Tredaven-Creek," to begin his journey to New England.[7]

In George Fox's account of his visit to Maryland he mentions certain Third Haven Friends in connection with meetings held with them or with visits made to their homes. One of the Maryland homes he visited was Robert Harwood's at Miles River where he arrived "very weary, and much dirtied with getting through the boggs in our Journey." John Edmundson and Henry Wilcocks also gave him hospitality and at the latter's home he attended a meeting where, he said, "We had good Service for the Lord." At "Peter Sharp's on the Clifts" he described a meeting as "large and very precious. . . . Many of the Magistrates and upper rank of people were at this Meeting, and a heavenly Meeting it was. One of the Governour's Council's Wives was Convinced; and her Husband very loving to Friends." Later he spoke of a "Monthly-Meeting at the Clifts . . . and a living Meeting it was; praised be the Lord." [8]

William Edmondson, the Quaker minister from Ireland, tells in his journal of visiting Maryland Friends in 1675-1677:

> The next Morning we took our Journey towards Mary-land, accompanied with Robert Wade, and another Friend, we travel'd hard and late at Night; so came to William Southerby's at Saxifrax River, from thence we went amongst Friends on the Eastern shore in Mary-land, where we had many precious Heavenly Meetings with Friends, and others, for the Worship of God, and Men and Womens Meetings to order the Affairs of the Church; a blessed time we had together, to our mutual Comfort.[9]

In the original part of the book 183 marriage certificates are recorded between 1677 and 1755. Seventy-three are before 1700. The people and places mentioned in the first few marriages may be of interest:

[7] *The Truth Exalted in the Writings of that Eminent and Faithful Servant of Christ, John Burnyeat* (London, 1691), pp. 43-44.

[8] George Fox, *Journal* (London, 1694), pp. 372-380.

[9] William Edmondson, *Journal* (Dublin, 1715), p. 95.

4/20/1677	William Southebee Jone Lee	att ye house of Thomas Taylor
11/3/1677	George Paratt Elizabeth Bodwell	at ye house of Wm. Parratt
12/21/1678	Andrew Orem Elinor Morris	at the house of John Pitts
8/23/1679	Lovelis Gorsuch Rebecka Preston	in ye house of Howell Powells
10/1/1679	Emanuell Jenkinson Elezabeth Morgin	in ye house of John Edmondson
12/24/1679	Wm. Joans Sarah Hall	att the house of Wm. Berryes
1/9/1679	Wm. Meers Eleza. Webb	att ye meeting house . . . att King's Creek
2/21/1680	Richard Hall Sarah Rastoe	att Tho. Taylors
3/2/1680	John West Jone Beckett	at theire meeting house at Tuckahooe
4/8/1680	William Dixon Elizabeth Christerson	at the house of Elizabeth Christerson

Many pages of births and deaths are interspersed among the marriage certificates. The original part of the book begins with page 3 and the first entry on this page is that of a birth in 1665: "Elizabeth the Daughter of Nathaniell Cleave and J[oyce] his wife was borne the 26th of ye 10th mo. 1665." Farther down on the same page is the record of a birth in 1664, the earliest date found in the book. (Probably not a contemporary entry.)

Recommendations that records be kept of births and deaths of members of the Society of Friends appear around 1657.[10] About 1668 George Fox advised "that Friends do buy necessary books for the registering of births, marriages, and burials, as the holy men of God did of old, as you may read through the Scriptures, that every one may be ready to give a testimony and certificate thereof if need require, or any be called thereunto." [11]

[10] Abram Rawlinson Barclay, ed., *Letters, &c. of Early Friends* (London, 1841), pp. 282-284.

[11] William Beck and T. Frederick Ball, *The London Friends' Meetings* (London, 1869), pp. 47-52. Paper drawn up by George Fox and entered in manuscript on the books of several of the London Meetings.

The Third Haven book is one of the first products of these wise recommendations.

The Society of Friends is fortunate in having so complete and continuous a record of its members and activities. People and events live again through the pages of precious old volumes such as the ancient one of Third Haven and by means of such records the Society of Friends preserves its continuity with the past and draws inspiration for the future.

IN "150 Years of Friendly Service," John F. Rich tells in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), vol. 119 (1945), pp. 167-169, the story of the oldest relief organization in Philadelphia, "The Female Society of Philadelphia for the Relief and Employment of the Poor." This Quaker group, founded by Ann Parrish and still in existence, celebrated its 150th anniversary on Eleventh Month 28, 1945. At that time it presented to FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION an "Album Quilt," bearing the signatures of the Managers of 1844. The manuscript and printed records of the Society, amounting to ninety-seven volumes, have also been deposited on loan in the Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library, where they may be consulted by genealogists or students of early American philanthropy.

JESSAMYN WEST'S short stories about Jess and Eliza Birdwell, which originally appeared in popular magazines, have now been published in one volume entitled *The Friendly Persuasion* (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945, 214 pp., $2.50). The stories are even more delightful as a group than when read separately, for they give a vivid and continuing picture of a Quaker family and their life on a nineteenth century Indiana farm. Some of the stories are amusing, others sad, but they all have a truly "friendly" atmosphere.

ARTICLES on the late Arthur S. Eddington, F. R. S., published in America include a particularly delightful one by Harlow Shapley in *Sky and Telescope*, vol. 4 (1945), pp. 3-4, indicating the scope of his intellectual interests and the simplicity and clarity of his presentation.

THE *Bulletin of the Special Libraries Council of Philadelphia* for January, 1945, contains a brief article by Anna B. Hewitt on "The Quaker Collection in the Haverford College Library."

NICHOLAS WALN*

QUAKER HUMOR

BY HORACE MATHER LIPPINCOTT

THE Quakers' flow of wit is no less in evidence than their appetites, which are proverbial, the natural outcome of industry, thrift and a notorious cuisine. The idea that they were a sour-visaged lot which the "world's people" seem to have and which has been advanced in books is about as reasonable as calling a landscape red, because the little red barn in the foreground was of that color. So it is that peculiar and literally rigid members of a sect often give the color to the whole body in popular estimation.

Nicholas Waln (1742-1813) was at one time the most prominent Friend in Philadelphia and distinguished for his piety and virtue. He was the most successful lawyer in the province and rode about in a canary-colored coach to and from his mansion which stood at 254 South Second Street, Philadelphia. In 1772 he forsook the law and declared in meeting that he would consecrate his life to Friendly concerns. However, nothing could keep his tongue quiet when something witty popped into his head. Once when chidden for some of his rallies he said that if his dignified friends only knew how much of his mirth he did suppress they would not think so ill of him. One day while walking along the street in his plain clothes he met a dandy of the town offensively fripped out in the extreme fashion of the period. He had on a well-fitted topcoat surmounted at the shoulders by a collection of little capes each a bit smaller than the one beneath. Walking up to the festive youth, Nicholas took hold of the lowest cape and said, "Friend, what is this?" The facetious youth replied, "That is Cape Henlopen." Touching the cape next above, Nicholas inquired, "And what is this?" "That," said the young popinjay, "is Cape Hatteras." "Then," said Nicholas, touching the jack-a-dandy's head with his finger, "this must be the light-house!"

*From a silhouette in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

On another occasion, as Nicholas was going along the street, he noticed a house where a pane of glass had been broken and a sheet of paper pasted over the aperture till new glass was set in. Seeing the mistress of the house at her knitting in the back part of the room, Nicholas jammed his walking-stick through the paper, and, putting his mouth to the hole he had made called in "Sham pane and no glass!" It was while living in the South Second Street house that he was much annoyed by repeated depredations on his woodpile. He not only suspected his next door neighbor of stealing the wood, but satisfied himself of the circumstances before acting. He then bought a cartload of wood and sent it to the offending neighbor with his compliments. The man was enraged as he had no notion that he was even suspected. He went to Nicholas in a temper and demanded to know what such a thing meant. "Friend," said Nicholas, "I was afraid thee would hurt thyself falling off my woodpile."

On one occasion Nicholas so shocked Friends that a deputation of "weighty Friends" was sent to labor with him notwithstanding his exalted position among them. It seems he was a nervous and fidgety man and could not stand the extreme deliberation practiced by some Friends in preaching. Upon one occasion a visiting minister arose in meeting, looked about him, cleared his throat and began, "I feel—." Then followed a long pause, more throat clearing, and, after another survey of the assembly, the speaker solemnly repeated, "I feel—," again pausing and casting his eye over his hearers, he reiterated for the third time, "I feel—." This was too much for Nicholas' impatient spirit; he felt that something must be supplied to feel. In a tone louder than a whisper he burst out in his high penetrating voice, "a louse!" Nicholas knew that he was to be waited on for this indiscretion and he likewise knew when they could seek an opportunity with him. On the evening when Friends went to his house, the windows were all dark and no answer was returned to their oft repeated rappings. Finally concluding that Nicholas must be away, they were turning from the door, when a window on the second floor went up and Nicholas' head, arrayed in a night-cap, came out. "Friends," said he, "you needn't come in. The Lord's been here before you!"

When Nicholas was quite ill at one time a mustard plaster was applied to his spare chest. Whereupon he exclaimed, "Don't you think there is too much mustard for the amount of meat!"

Nicholas died in 1813 universally loved and respected. Even on his death bed he could not refrain from joking. Almost with his last half-drawn breath he said, looking up, "I can't die for the life of me."

Young William Evans was walking one day past 254 South Second Street, when he was called in by Nicholas Waln who was seated upon the front steps. Going into the house, he brought forth a bundle of church-warden clay pipes which he handed to William Evans with the remark, "Take them home to thy father, he will need them at Yearly Meeting time." The "father" was the noted Jonathan Evans of "Separation" fame, but in this instance, at least, he appears in no more rigid light than the Friends who stored ale in the cellar at Fourth and Green Streets and served beer there when the Yearly Meeting met in that house.

One can hardly pass the Evans family without mentioning a recent happening to one of them, a worthy representative of a family long faithful to Friends' principles. This Friend was charged with the good order of his meeting and found it necessary to seek an opportunity with another Friend whose preaching was not acceptable. His labor seemed to be unavailing and finally it became necessary to exclude the offending Friend from the meeting. Whereupon he obtained access to the cellar and one First-day morning during the silence of the meeting his voice was heard crying up through the register, "Friend Evans is a speckled bird." Friend Evans at once left his seat and went to the cellar from whence soon came muffled sounds and then "Thou shalt not put thy hand in the lion's mouth." Other Friends going below found the faithful elder wringing his lacerated hand with which he had tried to stop the obnoxious remarks.

Samuel Willets was a prominent leather and oil commission merchant in company with his brothers Robert and Amos. He gave the first large sum to Swarthmore College of which he was one of the founders. A customer once felt aggrieved about a bill of goods he had bought from the firm and felt that he had been cheated. He remonstrated with the calm Samuel about it

and grew more indignant as he proceeded. He could get nothing but calm and patient replies so finally he denounced Samuel Willets with much warmth as the meanest man he had ever met, to which Samuel replied, "I guess thee has never met my brother Amos."

Isaac T. Hopper, whose picturesque portrait hangs on the wall at Swarthmore College, was well known for his humor. He frequently went into undertaking establishments and got into coffins to "try them on." One day at the seashore he was walking along the beach in old clothes when he was asked by a visitor, looking for a sailing boat, if he was a skipper. "No," he replied, "I am a Hopper."

Isaac Potts of Abington Meeting had a farm, and according to the custom of the time had a large gathering of neighbors to help him with the flax pulling. It was customary for farmers, not Friends, to have fiddling and a general lively time upon such occasions and some one maliciously circulated the report that Isaac Potts had two fiddlers at his flax pulling. The next First-day he was sharply taken to task after meeting by George Williams, an elder, for having two fiddlers at his flax pulling. He replied, "Dost thou not think one would have been enough?"

John Hunt and Samuel J. Levick, two eloquent ministers, were once attending Abington Quarterly Meeting held at Gwynedd in Eighth month. After meeting where both had had acceptable service they were at a large dinner at a Friend's house and being fond of a good cigar afterward, stole away to the back porch to enjoy a smoke where they thought they would not be detected. However, some Friends found them and took them sharply to task. "Yes, Friends," said John Hunt, "it is a vile weed and Samuel and I are burning it up just as fast as we know how."

Joseph Whitall found a burglar in his room one night. Taking a pistol he said, "Friend, I wish thee would move; I am about to shoot where thee is standing."

The same Friend was a sea captain and one night in the Caribbean he espied a piratical-looking fellow coming up a rope to the deck. Taking his knife he cut the rope, remarking as he let the fellow down to a watery grave, "Friend, if thee wants that rope, thee may have it."

The first exhibition of hostility to Elias Hicks occurred in 1819 during an extended religious visit to the meetings within the bounds of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. He was attending the monthly meeting held in Pine Street meetinghouse and obtained "liberty" to visit the women's meeting held in the adjacent "apartment." While absent on this concern, the men's meeting did the unprecedented thing of adjourning, the breaking up of the meeting being accomplished by a few influential members. When Elias returned to find the room empty he remarked, "Well, I am glad they left my hat and coat when they went!"

In early days farmers had much rough work to do and clothing was not plentiful nor easily had. So they were accustomed to wear leather breeches during the winter. They were hung up in the attic during the warm summer months to be resumed in the autumn when frost came. A revered minister at Abington startled the meeting for worship one First-day morning by arising suddenly from the facing benches, to proceed with considerable speed down the aisle toward the door as he exclaimed, "Friends, the Lord is in my heart but the devil is in my breeches!" A swarm of bees had settled therein during their inactivity and the warmth of his body had brought them to life when he donned the garments for the first time that fall.

Abraham Deaves was of a family long prominent in Germantown Meeting. He lived at Main and Harvey Streets. With his sisters, Johanna and Priscilla, he had been a concerned Friend before the Separation. In 1802 Priscilla became so absorbed in a case which came before the meeting for discipline and took a long time for settling that her mind became unbalanced when it was decided contrary to her judgment. She conceived it her duty to preach upon all occasions upon the text "The Innocent Suffer, while the Guilty go Free." Friends continually remonstrated with her, but to no avail, until positive action became necessary. When she arose as usual upon the succeeding First-day and commenced her address, some of the women elders gave the signal and two lusty men walked gravely to her side and cautioned her to desist upon penalty of removal if she refused. As was expected, she took no notice of them but continued her sermon. Whereupon they quickly picked up her and bore her

down the aisle to the door. During her progress she startled the congregation by exclaiming, "I am more honoured than our Lord. He was carried on the back of one ass, while I am borne on the backs of two." It is needless to say that Priscilla was never allowed in the meeting again.

Jonathan Evans and Joseph Jeannes were fond of trotting horses and were to be seen upon each fine day behind splendid pairs in Fairmount Park. They belonged to different branches of the Society and did not know each other. Each admired the other's horseflesh and one day Joseph pulled up beside Jonathan and so expressed himself. Finally he got around to the point of offering to buy. Jonathan Evans said he had not thought of selling but of course everything was for sale at a price. Joseph Jeannes was about to offer a good round figure when it occurred to him to introduce himself and ask the other's name. "My name is Jonathan Evans." With a jerk Joseph pulled up his horses with a sharp "Git-up," and dashed away in high disdain. This was an echo of the bitter separation times when Jonathan Evans, grandfather of the horseman, was a prominent figure.

Another story is told of Joseph Jeannes who was a man of considerable wealth and wore a diamond scarf pin. Taken to task about such ostentation by Friends he exclaimed, "Oh, it's only paste!"

Barclay Haines was a famous resident of Hainesport, New Jersey. He had a reputation as a horse trader. Selling a horse upon one occasion, he was asked by the buyer if he could pull. "Thee will be delighted to see him do it," was Barclay's reply. That night the plain Friend was awakened by much-to-do at his door. Raising his window he called out for an explanation and received a denunciation for deceitfulness in his horse sale of the day, the buyer asserting in forcible language that he had been assured that the horse would pull which had proved untrue. "Thee is mistaken," said Barclay, "I told thee that thee would be delighted to see him pull. So would I." Instead of asking to return the horse the buyer exclaimed, "I don't make you take him back, but I will borrow your coat and hat!"

One day Barclay Haines was returning from Philadelphia and was accosted on the ferryboat by a stranger who was attracted

by the plain clothes and tranquil countenance of the Friend. He said he had a very bad debt to collect and was fearful that his errand would be unsuccessful. He went on to say that had some $500 in notes, long overdue, from one Barclay Haines. Had the Friend ever heard of him? "Oh, yes, and I'm afraid thee stands very little chance of getting thy money." After considerable conversation they parted at the Camden ferry-house with the stranger boarding a returning boat, relief upon his face. Barclay had purchased the $500 in notes for $100!

John Hunt was a famous preacher from Rancocas, New Jersey, who had led a dissolute youth as a sailor. Visiting Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in his later years with his plain Friend's garb, he was taken sick, and in order to strengthen his weakened condition so as to enable him to return home, he was given some whiskey which unduly affected him. In those days one went to Rancocas by boat, and John got the idea that he was a young man at sea once more. The boat was a small tug boat, and the preacher mounted the pilot house, removed his coat and waving his arms wildly about shouted orders to the imagined sailors in language they could understand! It was a wild and picturesque sight—the tall, thin Friend with his Quaker raiment pouring forth the salty words of the sea in a high voice. John Hunt was so cast down by this unfortunate performance that he would not sit in the gallery for several years afterward.

It is said that the Cope family have a motto which being translated from the Latin means, "We pray that we are right for we never change."

Perhaps these anecdotes will give a more sweet flavor to public opinion of early Quakers. And we may well close with a paragraph from the tribute of the monthly meeting at Reading, England, upon the death of their esteemed Friend, William Penn—"In fine, he was learned without vanity; apt without forwardness; facetious in conversation, yet weighty and serious—of an extraordinary greatness of mind, yet void of the stain of ambition; as free from rigid gravity as he was clear of unseemly levity; a man, a scholar, a friend, a minister surpassing in superlative endowments; whose memorial will be valued by the wise and blessed with the just."

GEORGE ROFE IN THESE AMERICAN PARTS

By Henry J. Cadbury

NEW ENGLAND Yearly Meeting is usually accounted one of the oldest among Friends and George Rofe is often spoken of as its founder in 1661. Its reestablishment in 1945 out of several groups as a general or united Yearly Meeting for all Friends in those parts makes an appropriate excuse for publishing for the first time an account of Rofe written about two and a half centuries ago.

George Rofe [1] was a glazier of Halstead in Essex. He was converted to Quakerism at the age of about twenty by some Quakers who visited the town.[2] Of the few years between that event, probably in 1655, and his departure for America some time was spent in preaching in England and Holland and much of it in English prisons. On the latter one may consult his own pamphlets and the entries indexed under his name in Besse's *Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers.* All that is known of his work in Europe has been lately compiled by William I. Hull in his monograph on the *Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam 1655-1665.*[3] As will appear later Rofe learned to speak Dutch.

In June 1659 he wrote to George Fox that he was hoping soon to take shipping from Amsterdam to America.[4] He visited Bermuda in 1660 and his treatment by the authorities there is described in Besse's *Collection.*[5] Also, though Besse does not

[1] Also spelled Rolf, Rolfe, Roffe, Roofe, and misspelled Rose, Rosse. On his career see the article mentioned in note 24, and James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America* (London, 1850), i, pp. 360-362.

[2] George Rofe, *The Righteousness of God to Man* (London, 1656), p. 16.

[3] Swarthmore College Monographs on Quaker History, Number Four (Philadelphia, 1938), pp. 185-187.

[4] A. R. Barclay MSS. 55.

[5] Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers* (London, 1753), ii, p. 366. A letter written by Rofe from Bermuda is copied by Richard Pinder in Swarthmore MSS., iv, 39. Pinder was writing to George Fox from Barbados, August 17, 1660. For Rofe and Pinder in Bermuda see this Bulletin, vi (1914), pp. 20-21.

mention the matter, he visited the island of Nevis and was banished thence, as were many other Quaker visitors, usually by a verbal order from the Governor to the Marshal without any hearing or trial.[6] He spent the winter of 1660-61 in Maryland and Virginia according to a letter written to Richard Hubberthorne from Barbados on the 18th of November, 1661. This letter has been the source of our knowledge of his attendance at New England General Meeting. He continues:

> From thence I sailed in a small boat with only two Friends to New Netherland and so to New England, having good service amongst both Dutch and English; for I was in the chief city of the Dutch and gave a good sound but they forced me away. So we got meetings through the islands in good service and came in at Rhode Island, and we appointed a general meeting for all Friends in those parts, which was a very great meeting and very precious and continued four days together. And the Lord was with his people and blessed them and all departed in peace.[7]

Two or three days earlier Rofe had written to Steven Crisp that the Lord had made him

> an instrument of good to many in these countries. . . . But to mention passages at large I cannot now but this thou mayest understand that the Truth prevaileth through the most of all these parts and many settled meetings there are in Maryland, and Virginia and New England, and the islands thereabouts, and in the island of Bermuda; through all which places I have travelled in the power of the Spirit and in the great dominion of the Truth, having a great and weighty service for the Lord, in which I praise him he hath prospered me in all things to this day. And now I am in this fruitful island of Barbados, etc.[8]

[6] *For the King and Both Houses of Parliament, being a Short Relation of the Sad Estate and Sufferings of the Innocent People of God, called Quakers* (London, 1661), p. 9. This folio tract, signed by Thomas Coveney and eleven others, names sixteen Friends thus banished from Nevis, while Besse mentions only five of these cases. This must be one of the very few pamphlets of sufferings whose contents were not in some form included in Besse's monumental collection.

[7] A. R. Barclay MSS. 62. This letter has been often printed, most recently and accurately in *The Journal of the Friends Historical Society,* xxxvii (1940), pp. 5-6.

[8] Colchester MSS. 102, printed in *Collectitia,* W. Alexander, ed. (York, 1824), i, pp. 27-29. Cf. Charlotte Fell-Smith, *Steven Crisp and His Correspondents* (London, 1892), pp. 30-31.

According to a letter from Josiah Coale to George Fox written in Barbados on August 12, 1661, Rofe had arrived there with six other ministers about a week before, having been all apparently just released from imprisonment in Boston.[9] A printed piece by Rofe, *Cherubims, Cherubims,* is also dated from these months on Barbados, 29th of September, 1661. In his letter to Crisp, already cited, he said he might stay on the island for some time. A letter of his to George Fox from Barbados dated June 1, 1662, is extant.[10] At that time he was intending shortly to go to New England whither he says he had had for some time "drawings in myself," and to carry some Quaker books with him.

Our next reference to him is, however, nearly two years later (May 19, 1664) in a letter of William Caton in Holland to Steven Crisp reporting a rumor that George Rofe had been drowned,[11] and another letter from the same to the same (July 1, 1664) which says:

> I had lately a letter from out of Maryland, with a book of dear George Rofe, from a Friend there, who did absolutely confirm by his letter the truth of the report of dear George's being cast away in a little boat, upon Maryland river in a storm.[12]

The river is no doubt the Chesapeake Bay, the little book has been supposed to be *A Demonstration through the Eternall Spirit,* which was printed (but not in America) in 1663 with a reprint of Edward Burrough's *Answer to the Great Cry, the Quakers Will Soon Fall.*

Towards the close of the century George Fox and others were interested in making various historical collections. These were partly by subject matter, as sufferings, miracles, judgments; partly by locality, as *The First Publishers of Truth;* partly biographical, as the MS. Lives of Friends in the Ministry, and *Piety Promoted.* But in the last category English Friends naturally found it difficult to secure data about the ministers who had

[9] A. R. Barclay MSS. 63, in *The Journal of the Friends Historical Society,* xxxvii (1940), 7 f.

[10] Swarthmore MSS., iv, 223.

[11] Colchester MSS. 135 (Fell-Smith, *op. cit.,* p. 60).

[12] Colchester MSS. 141 (*loc. cit.,* p. 61: cf. *Collectitia,* i, p. 27).

died in America before the areas in which they lived and died had established meetings. George Rofe was one of these.

In 1698 the Second Day Morning Meeting in London wrote to the meetings in the American provinces to collect what they could of "the trials, travels, sufferings and writings of George Roffe who died in these parts of the world." Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, who minutes this request in the words just quoted, agreed

> that Samuel Spicer,[13] John Tilton[14] and William Southby[15] do collect and draw into writing what they know or can otherwise get from others of the service of George Roffe had for the Truth with the sufferings and hardships he underwent in the American parts

[13] Samuel Spicer was the son of Thomas and Michal Spicer. His parents migrated about 1643 from Massachusetts to Gravesend with Lady Deborah Moody in search of freedom of religion. But about 1657 Thomas died, and his widow and son espousing Quakerism were persecuted by Governor Stuyvesant. In 1660 [?] Samuel Spicer was imprisoned in Fort Amsterdam with Henry Wilson and in 1661 with Henry Townsend. In 1665 he married Esther, daughter of John Tilton, and in 1686 migrated to West Jersey settling near Cooper's Point nearly opposite Philadelphia. His name last appears on Quaker records in 1698 (see note 18). His widow was killed by lightning in 1703. See *The Friend* (Philadelphia), xxix (1856), pp. 292-293, 300. John Clement, *Sketches of the First Emigrant Settlers in Newton Township* (Camden, 1877), pp. 293-300. John R. Stevenson, "Samuel Spicer and his Descendants," *Proceedings of New Jersey Historical Society,* xxiii (1894), pp. 47-49. John E. Stillwell, "Spicer of New York and New Jersey," in *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany* (New York), iv (1916), pp. 289-294.

[14] John Tilton, Jr., was the son of John and Mary Tilton of Gravesend and brother-in-law of Samuel Spicer. His parents were sufferers with the latter under Governor Stuyvesant, and died at Gravesend, Mary in 1683 and John in 1688, though they had taken up lands at Shrewsbury. There John, the son, settled. He died in 1731. Though in East Jersey, Shrewsbury was then part of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. *The Friend* (Philadelphia), xxix (1856), pp. 292-293, 316. Stillwell, "Tilton of New Jersey," *op. cit.,* v (1932), pp. 131-222.

[15] William Southeby, formerly a Roman Catholic, became a Friend while living in Maryland on the Sassafras River but migrated to Pennsylvania about 1683 where he was active in civil affairs and in the concerns of the Society. He was noteworthy as an early opponent of the slave trade, for which he came into conflict with his Monthly Meeting. He died in 1722. *The Friend* (Philadelphia), xxviii (1855), pp. 293, 301-302, 309-310. Thomas E. Drake, "American Quakers and Slavery" (to be published), chapter I.

> or of any writing or epistle he writ here or to the Friends hereaway and to send them to Samuel Jennings[16] to be sent to the Second Day's morning meeting in London and that Edward Shippen[17] be desired to see what he can get of that kind from Rhode Island or New England and to certify the same to Samuel Jennings to be sent as above.[18]

The Yearly Meeting at the same time in its epistle to the London Yearly Meeting mentioned the request and promised that whatever is brought in "of the travels, trials, hardships and sufferings that George Rofe underwent in these parts in the service of truth . . . will be sent with what expedition well may be."

The persons chosen were well selected for of course there were no Friends in Rofe's lifetime in the area covered by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. But Samuel Spicer and his brother-in-law John Tilton had lived at Gravesend in Long Island when Rofe passed through and Edward Shippen had still contacts with his old home in New England. There was also other contact with New England. For the Yearly Meeting there records in its minutes for June, 1699:

> Our Friend Phineas Pemberton gave an account to this meeting that Friends in Philadelphia had received a letter from Friends in England desiring the care of Friends to collect and gather up an account of the sufferings of our Ancient Friends George Wilson and George Rofe in these parts and of all others that have not yet been printed and send it to London or to Friends in Pennsylvania.[19]

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[16] Samuel Jennings emigrated to New Jersey in 1680 from Coleshill, Buckinghamshire. An active Quaker, he also took part in the government of New Jersey, acting at various periods as Deputy-Governor, Governor, member of the Provincial Council, and Speaker of the Assembly. He died in 1708 at Burlington, New Jersey. James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America* (London, 1854), ii, pp. 254-255.

[17] Edward Shippen (1639-1712), merchant, came from Methley, Yorkshire, and settled in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1668. In 1671 he married Elizabeth Lybrand, a Quakeress, and became a Friend. He moved to Pennsylvania about 1694 and held there various civic offices. *Dictionary of American Biography,* xvii, pp. 115-116.

[18] MS. Minutes of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, held at Burlington, September 21, 1698, in volume A1, at 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

[19] The local catalogues mentioned were solicited for the Annual Catalogue of George Fox, but that was largely left untouched after 1698 and the contributions from Pennsylvania and New Jersey if they reached

This was a still larger order. No report on George Wilson was secured, as we shall soon be told, but the search for recollections of George Rofe was not fruitless, for we read in the minutes of "the Yearly Meeting of Ministering Friends held at Burlington the 14th of the Seventh Month 1700,"

> The Trials & Sufferings of Geo: Rosse was brought into this meeting, what of them can be got here, as also some Catalogues of the Titles of some books of Geo. Fox's, both of which are agreed to be sent to England by the first convenient opportunity.[20]

There is no evidence that the papers in question were ever sent to England. George Whitehead in his *Christian Progress,* published many years later,[21] refers to the death of Rofe together with some other Friends "in a storm at sea near the coasts of Virginia, as has been related to us." He adds: "A particular account of his travels in those parts and islands I have not; but we have often had general accounts yet have desired more particular and full relation thereof." Though a writer in the Philadelphia *Friend* in 1856[22] suggests that this report "was directed to be sent to England and probably was lost there," I think the original document was then and is still extant in the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting archives.[23]

This tattered document in handwriting of about that early time is printed, as far as it can be deciphered, below. It was known to the writer of an article on Rofe in the *Friend* in 1839.[24] His quotations show that it was then in better preservation.

London are nowhere entered. See my *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers* (Philadelphia, 1939), pp. 14-15, and the item B 40. The implication in this BULLETIN, xx (1931), p. 66, that the catalogues were requested in connection with Fox's printed Journal is erroneous. Phineas Pemberton, the Clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, was present in person at the Yearly Meeting in Rhode Island in 1699 along with Samuel Jennings to encourage more frequent correspondence and intervisitation between the two Yearly Meetings (*ibid.,* vi (1915), p. 92).

[20] MS. Minute Book A15, p. 57, at 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

[21] George Whitehead, *The Christian Progress of that Ancient Servant and Minister of Jesus Christ, George Whitehead* (London, 1725), pp. 97-98.

[22] *The Friend* (Philadelphia), xxix (1856), p. 300.

[23] Now at 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia. Volume C26, folio 5.

[24] *The Friend* (Philadelphia), xii (1839), pp. 214-215, 221-222, 229-230.

They have been used as substantially identical with the original in filling in lacunae in the transcript (within square brackets).[25]

In spite of its original brevity and further curtailment by injury this document has no small interest. The author who speaks in the first person evidently knew best the events about Gravesend, New Amsterdam and Flushing. This points to Samuel Spicer or John Tilton and suggests that it might be possible to identify the handwriting. The reference to the Yearly Meeting in Rhode Island is unhappily brief. But we now know for the first time the names of his two companions.[26] Robert Hodgson appears frequently in the histories of English Quaker visitors to the American colonies. But Robert Stage is a new name unless it be identified, as is reasonable, with a Quaker resident of Maryland and sufferer there in the year 1661, called by Joseph Besse, Robert Stake.[27] The vivid account of Rofe's experiences in New York and of his vicissitudes in travelling from the Chesapeake to Narrangansett Bay in a fourteen foot canoe speaks for itself.

A Relation of the Travels and S[ufferings of] George R[oofe] here in these American Parts as followeth.[28]

The said G. Roofe was Recommended unto us by a Friend one George Wilson who came out of the North of England and came hither in the year 1660, whose labor and service was great

[25] I depend also upon a copy which I made about ten years ago. The recent silking of the paper to preserve it has obscured the back side of the sheet, especially the two marginal additions. A poetical paraphrase published in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), lxv (1891), pp. 82-83, is of little help for the lost wording.

[26] The suggestion of Mary G. Swift that his two companions were Elizabeth Hooton and Joan Brocksopp is thus disposed of. Emily Manners, *Elizabeth Hooton* (London, 1914), p. 31 note. That "the names of George Rofe's two companions have not reached us" was noted by Augustine Jones in his "Opening Remarks" in the *Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Beginning of New England Yearly Meeting of Friends* (1911), p. 4.

[27] Joseph Besse, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 380.

[28] Except for the proper names the spelling has been modernized, punctuation has been added, and abbreviations have been resolved.

amongst Friends in these parts, being a line of sufferings & sharp persecution from the Dutch governor Peter Staivesants,[29] who exceedingly envied Friends, taking Boston cruelty for his example. The said George Wilson being clear of these parts returned to Mariland & Virginea where he [had travelled] with the said G. Roofe upon Truth's account, and [was thrown into] James Towne jail where he ended his life & [finished his] testimony & left a good savor behind him of his [labor, pati]ent sufferings & faithfulness, a memorial [of which I] have long desired to see come forth to p[ublic], but as yet have seen none.[30]

But to return to George Roofe, in the year . . . . . from Mariland in a boat very small [being but four]teen foot by the keel and landed safe on [the south side of] Long Island . . . . . admiration of people . . . . . was a miracle . . . . . it he & them that . . . . . and because of the dangerous . . . . . the littleness of the boat came in.[31] So [Friends having heard that G. R. was] there landed w[e came t]o him & d[esired him to come to our dwellings but] it lay upon him to go to the Dutch [Governor . . . . . .] him of some people that were cast [away . . . . . .]ell and were not far from Barnegat . . . . . in great distress, there being no inhabitants but [Indians] in East Jersey & the sea being so boisterous & breaking so upon the shore as often it doth there, he could not take them [into] his boat without hazarding of his own life and them [that] were with him, which was Robert

[29] Petrus Stuyvesant (1592-1672) was Director General of New Netherlands from 1646 until he surrendered it to the English in 1664. He is mentioned in connection with almost all sufferings of Friends in the colony during this period. He is said to have apologized in a sense afterwards to John Bowne, one of his victims.

[30] George Wilson (-c.1662) was a Cumberland Friend, concerning whom Norman Penney's note in the Cambridge *Journal of George Fox* (1911), ii, p. 441, gives the principal sources of information. Cf. *William and Mary Quarterly, New Series,* v (1925), pp. 226-227. His sufferings in New England and Virginia are described in George Bishop, *New-England Judged* (London, 1703), pp. 340, 351, 353. There is still no collected account of his life, and his papers written in America and preserved in London have not been published.

[31] The gist of this mutilated passage is indicated by the paraphrase in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), xii (1839), p. 221: "The inhabitants who gathered round, hearing from whence he had come expressed their admiration, saying that the safe performance of a voyage of that length in a vessel of that size, and along such a dangerous coast, was a miracle."

Hodgson [32] & Robert Stage, for these poor distressed people ran along the shore as far as they could halloing & making noises, of whom he had compassion. So after a little while stan[ding he] spake a few words to Friends who helped him off with his boat that was grounded, he set sail for New York, then New Amsterdam, to inform the Dutch Governor aforesaid & there landed, and going up to . . . . . acquaint the Governor Peter Staivesant of these distressed people aforesaid, Cornelis De Sella [33] the fiscal, an officer, met him & rudely fell upon him & struck him several blows with a great cane. But G. R. would not be put off for all this but would speak with the Governor Peter Stuyvesant who was very churlish in his behavior to him & bid him be gone forthwith out of town. But the Governor being [spoke] to by some how that the day was far spent & farther [consi]dered the action cold [34] not for sha[me . . . . . .] him out of . . . . . that night but permitted him to go . . . . . lodge there . . . . . commanded him to be gone the next . . . . . morning the next day [35] left the town & went through that place called Helgate and got to Flushings amongst Friends and then came to Gravesend & gave an account of what entertainment he had met withal at New Amsterdam now N. York. So having visited Friends at Gravesend he returned back to Flushing & went in the said boat

[32] Robert Hodgson, of County Durham, came to America with other Friends in the ship *Woodhouse* in 1657. He at once experienced severe treatment at Hampstead, Long Island, and met then Governor Stuyvesant, whose sister is said to have pleaded for his release. The account of this experience in Bishop, *New-England Judged* (London, 1661) and later writers (John Whiting, Joseph Besse, C. F. Holder in *The Holders of Holderness,* etc.) goes back to his own narrative in Francis Howgill's *The Popish Inquisition* (London, 1659), pp. 6-7. He returned to England in 1669 but was in America again later.

[33] This must be an error for Nicasius de Sille who was commissioned in July 1653 as First Counsellor to the director while Cornelis van Ruyven was made secretary. In 1656 he succeeded Cornelis van Tienhoven as Attorney General. In a letter of the year 1660 from Henricus Selyns to the Classis of Amsterdam he is called fiscal. He long survived the Dutch loss of power in the colony, living in New Utrecht. How the author of our MS. got for him the Christian name Cornelis is obscure. The fiscal was an officer primarily, as the name suggests, concerned with offenses against the revenue but evidently in practice exercised wider powers.

[34] In spite of the clear text of the MS. I think these words should be: "the occasion (of Rofe's visit), could not," etc.

[35] MS. gay.

to Roade Island with Robert Hodghon & R. Stage . . . . . were cast . . . . . boat . . . . . the back side of Roade Island but the boat turning . . . . . the bottom up they got upon the boat until some Indians . . . . . .[36] & so got to[37] the Yearly Meeting there and so travelled to & again in the service of truth and labor of the gospel of Christ in New England . . . . . Bermodus where he had formerly labored & [meetings had been] gathered & settled by him, from whence he returned . . . . . [New] England and so to Long Island[38] visiting and going through . . . . . meetings there & also had a meeting with the Dutch people . . . . . Gravesend & declared the truth unto them in their [own] language, which some gainsayed, withstood & fell into . . . . . ing. But G. R. stood by what he had declared & . . . . . what he had said by plain (?) Scripture. And then there was . . . . . ion amongst them & so they went away, some saying . . . . . with what G. had spoken . . . . . also visited Friends [in prison] in New Amsterdam now New York[39] . . . . . ight nor . . . . . and of his own . . . . . fulness & . . . . . [not to look so much at the present suffering as at the future rew]ard and set . . . . . a paper . . . . . G p . . . . . of which he . . . . . not of God & how that Christ and his Apostles neve[r persecute]d any but were persecuted, and also in the said paper he answered several of the Dutch governor's [laws] and acts that he had made against Friends meetings and the hindering suppressing of the Truth. So having visited Friends in these parts of whom he was well beloved & accepted he lastly went to Maryland, there finished his course & ended his life. [It is reported that he was very adventurous by boat & more by canoe . . . . . .] & being in a small boat in Chesapeake Bay in Maryland [& weather somewhat rough the boat was overset], it was supposed . . . . . upon the boat . . . . . of victuals & . . . . . driven about until he lost his life.[40] This is what I can remember at present.

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[36] The words from "were cast" to "some Indians" are an insert added in a different hand in the margin.

[37] The words "& so got to" replace "was there at" which had been crossed through.

[38] This second visit of George Rofe to Long Island was previously unknown, and cannot very well be dated. Presumably it is after the months spent in 1661-1662 in Barbados. See next note.

[39] John Tilton and his wife and John Bowne were probably in prison at Fort Amsterdam in 1662.

[40] The words from "It is reported" to "lost his life" are an insert in a different hand added in the margin.

ANNUAL MEETING 1945
FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE ANNUAL MEETING of Friends Historical Association for 1945 took place in the auditorium of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation (the old Custom House), 420 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, on Eleventh Month 28, following an adjourned meeting at Haverford College on the stated date, Eleventh Month 26. An amendment to the Constitution which provided for the election of Directors in three groups for three years each was passed, and the Directors whose names appear on page 2 were elected to office. A brief report was read by the Treasurer, and the Membership Committee reported that forty-one persons from thirteen states had joined the Association during 1945, making a total of 586 members. The president spoke briefly of the activities of the year and urged further effort to obtain new members. He introduced as a guest from California, Jessamyn West, author of *The Friendly Persuasion,* a best-selling volume of short stories with an Indiana Quaker setting.

Wilbur K. Thomas welcomed the Association to the Carl Schurz Foundation, and outlined the history of its Greek Revival building, as Second Bank of the United States and United States Custom House. William Hubben, editor of *Friends Intelligencer* and historian of German Quakerism, gave the address of the evening, "German Friends, Past and Present," sketching briefly the reactions of Germans to Friends and the three periods in which small German Quaker groups existed from Penn's time to the present. Although persecution has twice exterminated Quakerism in Germany, and nearly so again in Hitler's day, William Hubben asserted his belief that modern Quakerism had a message of spirit and service to which many Germans would be receptive in the coming years.

An interesting display of German books by and about Friends was provided by the speaker and by the libraries of Swarthmore and Haverford Colleges. Friends had an opportunity to inspect these exhibits while enjoying the refreshments provided by the Entertainment Committee.

THE FOURTH ANNUAL midwinter dinner of Friends Historical Association took place as usual at The Whittier in Philadelphia, on Second Month 21, 1946. President William W. Comfort was prevented by illness from being present. Friends thus missed his genial and witty toastmastership, but were fortunate in having Richmond P. Miller as an able substitute. It was "Ladies Night," with Ellen Starr Brinton speaking on "Lucretia Mott and 'Fifty-four Forty or Fight'," Helen G. Hole on "'Society' at Westtown," and Janet Payne Whitney on "England Revisited." Ellen Brinton displayed an original letter, signed by hundreds of Philadelphia women and addressed to the women of Exeter, England, in 1846, urging a peaceful settlement of the Oregon question. Helen Hole read excerpts from the manuscript publications of early Westtown literary societies, and Janet Whitney told of interesting episodes in her recent visit to post-war England. Between rounds the toastmaster distributed several prizes: to the youngest person present—a copy of *Remember William Penn;* to the member who had come the furthest distance—a copy of Jessamyn West's stories of Indiana Quaker life, *The Friendly Persuasion,* to a Friend who had come, appropriately enough, from Indiana; and to the oldest nonmember present, a copy of the "Benjamin West" number of the BULLETIN, and a membership blank!

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS re-elected the former officers of Friends Historical Association for another term, at their regular meeting on First Month 11, 1946, at the Atwater Kent Museum. The Board also adopted a budget of $1,350 for the year 1945-46, allocating most of the additional $150 over the previous budget to the increasing costs of printing the BULLETIN. It was gratifying to hear that the President's appeal for members at the last Annual Meeting resulted in the Association's reaching the long-sought goal of 600 members, but the Directors were reminded of the fact that continuous effort would be required to meet the inroads of death and taxes on our rolls.

REPORT OF THE CURATOR

GIFTS TO The Friends Historical Association have accumulated to such an extent that a partial list of them should prove interesting.

Through the interest of Dr. William Wistar Comfort, President of the Association, in 1937 Mr. Horace T. Carpenter, Curator of Independence Hall in Philadelphia, gave the Association permission to exhibit some of its possessions in that building. In the "Mayor's Room," on the first floor of Old City Hall, at Fifth and Chestnut Streets, over 300 exhibits are displayed. In a standing case three figures show a woman's costume of 1677 (copy), a man's costume of 1830 and a woman's costume of 1840 (originals). A number of cases contain articles of wearing apparel, daguerreotypes, valuable manuscripts, and many historical pieces. Pictures decorate the walls.

The historical Franklin Institute building at 15 South Seventh Street was purchased by Mr. A. Atwater Kent and converted into a Philadelphia Museum, now seven years old. The exhibition cases there are exceptionally beautiful. Mr. M. Joseph McCosker, the Director of the Museum, asked the Friends Historical Association to exhibit some of the material belonging to it. From a mass of articles from many localities a careful selection of material directly associated with Philadelphia was made under Mr. McCosker's supervision, and this material now fills nine cases in the Museum. On behalf of the Association the Curator wishes to thank Mr. Carpenter, the officers of the Atwater Kent Museum and their staffs for their generous cooperation, which has enabled us to place so much of our valuable material on exhibition at these two places.

A partial list of articles which are *not* on exhibition follows:

Wedding Certificates: 1692, 1698, 1718, 1731, 1746, and others
Indenture, Samuel Richardson, 1693 (valuable signatures)
Indenture and bond for an apprentice in England, 1702
Transfer of property in Philadelphia, 1681
Cadbury sketch book
Letter to Stephen Grellet from Elizabeth Fry, 1840
John Hooton's Book of Discipline, 1761-2

Papers concerning the building of the second Philadelphia meeting house in 1755; account of costs and names of the members of the committee in charge

List of public Friends who visited Pennsylvania from England from 1656 to 1782

Letter from Thomas Durbott to Thomas Lloyd

Two letters from Lindley Murray to D. B. Smith on "Instruction," 1789

Letter from Anna Braithwaite about "Anti-Christian" doctrines presented by Elias Hicks

Letter from Joshua Cresson about yellow fever, 1793

Mary Clark's book, 1802

Letters about the Yarnall Family by Charles Yarnall

Letter to Alice Needham, Salem, Massachusetts, from Thomas Say

Names of members of 12th Street Meeting at time of its establishment, 1812

List of names of members of the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia for the Western District (i.e. 12th Street), 1820, and account of members received

Autograph book of Phoebe Clapp, Jr., afterwards Phoebe C. Thomas

Map used by Rebecca Jones, showing meeting houses visited by her during her trip in 1785 in the British Isles

Copy of William Bradford's letter to the Half-Year's Meeting of Friends held at Burlington, N. J., 1687-8

Umbrella belonging to Stephen Grellet

Original of appeal to England on behalf of Africans, poem by T. Wilkinson, 1789

Book, "The House that Jack Built," illustrated by Cruikshank, 1853

Lucretia Mott letter, 1840

Poor Will's Almanac, 1792, 1794, 1795; Poor Will's Pocket Almanac, 1827

Indian Records

- Christian Frederick Post's Diary, 1760
- John Pierce and Joshua Sharpless Diary, 1798
- Original Cornplanter letter, 1791
- Papers relating to the Easton meeting with Governor Johnson in June, 1762; Tedyuscung's mark
- Letter about gifts to Indians, signed by Tobias Lear, Washington's secretary.

LYDIA FLAGG GUMMERE, *Curator.*

"THE Friends Come to Oregon. III. Washington Work" is a third instalment of H. S. Nedry's comprehensive history of Oregon Quakerism (see this BULLETIN, vol. 34 (1945), p. 46) and deals with their extension northward, including Vancouver. It appears in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, vol. 46 (1945), pp. 36-43.

QUAKER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

THE following list of present or recent studies in Quakerism continues the series of such notices appearing from time to time in the BULLETIN. It is of course improbable that the list is complete; but it is interesting as showing where the present frontiers of Quaker research are.

Information of other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

Henry J. Cadbury, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts. *Forerunner of John Woolman, John Hepburn of East Jersey.* (Research into the life of John Hepburn, the references in his book and (perhaps) a reprint of his "American Defense of the Christian Golden Rule.") Biographical part almost completed.

Helen D. Charles, 2 Cobane Terrace, West Orange, New Jersey. *Collection of True Quaker Anecdotes.* (A collection of all kinds of true Quaker stories, with emphasis on the humorous.) Material is being collected for this study, and it will be published if enough anecdotes are received to make a small volume.

Henry van Etten, Villa Colette, Montmorency (Seine et Oise), France. *Quakerisme—Histoire, principes et pratiques de la Société Religieuse des Amis bases sur l'expérience de la lumière intérieure.* Manuscript almost completed.

Joseph Edward Ford, Jr., 328 Drexel Court, Drexel Hill, Pennsylvania. *David Rittenhouse, Astronomer-Patriot.* (A biography compiled largely from original sources and containing much new material.) Manuscript completed. [*Editor's note:* David Rittenhouse was not a Friend, but he had many Quaker connections.]

Meredith Johnson, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia. *First Friends in Virginia.* (The part Friends played in Virginia history, not as a separate sect especially, but their place as a group in the activities of the state.) University of Virginia; History, thesis for M.A. degree. Partially completed.

Russell F. Jorgensen, 2811 Channing Way, Berkeley 4, California. *Relationship between the Worship of Friends and their Social Conscience.* (A study of the social attitudes and activities of Friends in a limited area in California.) Pacific School of Religion; Christian Ethics, thesis for M.A. degree, 1946. Writing of first draft commenced.

Harlow Lindley, 183 East Pacemont Road, Columbus 2, Ohio. *A Century of Earlham College.* (In commemoration of the centenary of Earlham College which occurs in 1947.) Largely completed.

Henry S. Manley, 216 The Capitol, Albany, New York. *Ogdens against Senecas.* (Reference will be made to the Quaker concern about the treaties of 1826 and 1838 by which the Ogden Land Company obtained the Buffalo Creek, New York, reservation of the Seneca Indians.) Research and writing commenced.

Marion Nicholl Rawson, Barrington, Rhode Island. *Art and the Quakers.* (The story of the Quakers who gave their lives to painting, sculping, etc., in spite of Meeting disapproval. Includes those of Quaker descent.) Partially completed.

Elbert Russell, Guilford College, North Carolina. *The Inner Light in the History and in the Present Problems of the Society of Friends.* (Address given before North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1945. To be published by the Yearly Meeting.)

R. Ursula Somervell, 15 Trumpington Road, Cambridge, England. *Eighteenth Century Quakeress, Betty Fothergill. Her Education, Journal (1769-1770), and Life.* (A picture of the family life and training of a Quaker girl in the eighteenth century, and of her background and subsequent life.) Manuscript completed.

Anna Louise Spann, University Park, Iowa. *The Ministry of Women in the Society of Friends.* (A comprehensive survey of the subject, with illustrations of the services of women in the Society in England and America.) State University of Iowa; Religion, thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1945. Manuscript completed.

Sadie Goodman Walton (Mrs. Harold E.), 1024 Noyes Street, Evanston, Illinois. *The Influence of Penn's Essay on Peace.* (An examination of Penn's Essay in relation to its historical setting and a comparison with subsequent peace plans.) Partially completed.

THE *Month at Goodspeed's*, vol. 16 (1945), pp. 184-187, cf. 204-205, advertises an item I do not find in Smith's *Catalogue*, a four-page letter of Hannah Penn to Sir William Keith, dated London, 26th of the 3d Month, 1724, and printed by Samuel Keimer. According to the editor, "Hannah Penn talks turkey" to the governor of Pennsylvania about his apparent neglect of the Penn family interests and advises him to see to it that at least half the members of the Provincial Council are Quakers. To the bibliographer, the chief interest of the item (offered for $175!) is the possibility that it was set up by Benjamin Franklin, who, still in his teens, was working for Keimer. The difficulty is that the exact date of printing is unknown.

BACKGROUND for Quaker history in the Eastern Shore of Maryland has been appearing abundantly of late, most recently in Hulbert Footner's *Rivers of the Eastern Shore* (New York, Farrar & Rinehart, 1944, 375 pp.).

BOOK REVIEWS

Jersey Genesis. The Story of the Mullica River, by Henry Charlton Beck. New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1945. 304 pp. $3.50.

THE slogan "Know Your Own State" has produced a small library of books in the past decade. This movement has been variously promoted, particularly so by the Department of Economic Development in Trenton, New Jersey. The author of this volume, *Jersey Genesis*, has been Chairman of a Conference of this State agency and otherwise active in this interest. This latest of his books has apparently struck a popular note and is already in a second printing. It has some distinct values which will be noted after pointing out some limitations more or less common in other works of the same class which have come to the notice of the present reviewer.

The title seems definitely unfortunate, for *Jersey Genesis* suggests history. The author's expression "more folklore than history" (p. 20) makes clear the point at issue. Jersey Genesis was definitely Quaker. William Penn's resounding words, "We put the power in the people," in his first message to the Quaker pioneers at Burlington, dominated the first fifty or more years of New Jersey as of Pennsylvania history. They are sometimes said to have shaped the type of our country's government.

All Pennsylvania school children were made aware of this during the recent Tercentenary of Penn. It was a great misfortune that Governor Martin's activity in making this possible in Pennsylvania was not followed in New Jersey. If the rising generation of our children could have these few words engraven on their memory there might be some hope for the restoration of real democracy as opposed to political (boss) rule. Professor Thomas J. Wertenbaker in his monumental work on *The Founding of American Civilization* (New York, 1938) has treated Jersey Genesis. Unfortunately, with that of several others, his work is not mentioned in this volume.

Somewhat in line with the above consideration it seems necessary to observe that in dealing with folklore an active and discriminating judgment is required, otherwise actual facts of history get perverted. There are numerous instances of this in the present volume. For the first time, so far as I know, the venerated Thomas Osborn is called "Tommy" and the folk myth is repeated that he betrayed the encampment of Count Pulaski to the invading British, and so was responsible for the Little Egg Harbor Massacre. Seventy-five years ago, as I well remember, both Thomas Osborn and Joseph Willits were charged in current stories with this disgraceful act, but a careful investigation by the Society of Friends, to which they both belonged, absolutely exonerated them. Much later, when the monument at Chestnut Neck was dedicated, a military officer with authority from the War Department gave the name of the culprit, and it was not that of one of the pioneer Quakers.

The association of the names of Ann Gaunt and Ann Willits, eminent Quaker ministers, with that of Rhoda Osborn Lamb, seems to indicate that they were contemporaries. Rhoda Lamb belongs to my youthful period; the others to an earlier time. In this trio of Quaker preachers the name of Lucy Ann Evans is omitted. I have often listened to the recital of her saintly character and her fame as a prophetess at Bridgeport or Wading River where she lies buried in a suitably marked grave.

One other observation in the Quaker field: David Mapps (sometimes spelled Mapes) was a Negro of note in the Mullica Valley. He and his wife were devout and highly esteemed members of the Society of Friends. He was an overseer and member of the School Committee of Little Egg Harbor Monthly Meeting. He built the Friends Meeting House at Bridgeport. A forest fire destroyed the last remains of the frame structure not long since, but I have in my possession one of the wrought iron "beam cradles" supporting the roof, evidently from the foundry, where Jesse Evans, husband of Lucy Ann, had an important interest.

In a monograph by Charles F. Green, David Mapps appears in a heroic role in 1812 as he declines on religious principles to carry cannon balls in his fifty-ton sloop from the Richards' Foundry to New York. It may be a fact, as Mr. Beck notes, that "Nigger Island" was named for Friend Mapps, but very true it is that he was highly esteemed as a good citizen as well as a good Quaker in "Middle Shore," the name of a considerable district several times mentioned in the volume under consideration.

Turning now to the note of appreciation, let it be said that the book has a literary flavor with its apt poetical quotations as headings of chapters. Likely to others beside myself this suggests Sir Walter Scott. Indeed Scott's discrimination in explaining the province of romance is brought to mind by the whole volume. If then accurate history, even of families, cannot be gathered by wooing a district such as the Mullica Valley, love for a neighborhood and for the neighbors exhibited by the author adds not a little to one's understanding of varieties of human nature. The pictures drawn even by a facile pen can hardly be composite. An illustration may make this clear. Leeds and Birdsall and Hazelton and Willits blood (not to give a complete list) course through my veins. There may be family likenesses; all families come assorted but the instances given are hardly recognizable. Because of this fact it has been easy to meet with some resentment by readers of the volume at the representative pictures in this volume. What the folklore people call "queer as Dick's hatband" gives picturesqueness, however, to the narrative.

Although more than once the author disavows writing history, some chapters have distinct value in this field. The one on charcoal manufacture might easily have been expanded to picture the colonies of twenty or more persons (families) living in huts, who converted thousands of acres of "burnt over" woodland into charcoal for broiling the steaks of rich New Yorkers. The picture he does give is suggestive.

Collection of sphagnum moss is the subject of one of the interesting historical chapters. It will probably surprise many to learn of the use of this moss in surgery as well as in greenhouses.

Shipbuilding on the Mullica River was doubtless very common up to seventy years ago, although it is questionable whether many large vessels were built there. As a boy of eight to ten years I was nearly every weekday on the boat of the Custom Inspector in Little Egg Harbor. Sometimes as many as fifty vessels were anchored there, and more often than not the Mullica boats were fifty-ton sloops, with only occasionally a schooner with two masts.

In conclusion there is some ground for hope that multiplication of books on the order of *Jersey Genesis* will create an appetite for real history of which the monumental work of Professor Wertenbaker is a perfect example.

J. Henry Bartlett

Tuckerton, New Jersey

Sixty-five and Over. A Study Based on a Survey of the Care of the Aged in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, by Leon Thomas Stern, Philadelphia, Social Service Committee, 1945, 35 pp., Revised edition, 1946, 36 pp. Twenty-five cents. [Copies may be obtained from the Social Service Committee, 1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.]

FRIENDS have long been pioneers in social work. Thus far no adequate history of the various contributions of Quakers to social work in America has been published. Some years ago the late Thomas K. Brown, Jr., translated the original book in this field written by Auguste Jorns entitled *Studien über die Sozialpolitik der Quäker*. Dr. Jorns did not have available American resource material to any extent but with this exception her book, with its significant foreword by Amelia Mott Gummere, is an important contribution to the literature of social work.

The care of the aged among the Religious Society of Friends is the particular concern of the Monthly Meeting and usually this responsibility has been remanded to the Overseers or a special committee. But in many American communities superior Meetings have taken upon themselves the establishment of Friendly homes for better care of our aged members. Here again the Friendly procedure and policy has been of a pioneering nature. It is so recognized by historians and students of social work although very little has been written about this field of Friendly social service.

Now another chapter has been added to the record. Leon Thomas Stern, member of Providence United Monthly Meeting, has just completed a comprehensive study which might become a landmark. It certainly is a guidepost showing where we have come from and the directions in which Quakers ought to go in meeting this problem that statisticians tell us will become increasingly important in our civilization.

In the Philadelphia area today there is one person out of fourteen in the age group over sixty-five. Within a few decades it is estimated that our vital statistics will show one person out of seven will be in this class. It is a fact that the ratio of older persons among Friends is much higher than in the general population enumeration.

The material for this study is based upon information obtained from only one American Yearly Meeting, yet the presentation of the findings and the observations of the author, a trained social research worker, will be of value to Friends and non-Friends everywhere. Not the least important part are sections on the establishing of Friends Boarding Homes and some very penetrating conclusions regarding open doors of opportunity for all Friends who seek to meet the needs of older people. We are all members of one community and the good of the least of us is the good of all.

RICHMOND P. MILLER

Philadelphia

A Searching Time for Quakers. Being a Miscellany Collected by Horace Mather Lippincott. Philadelphia, published by the author, 1945. 80 pp. $1.00.

THIS pamphlet is in substance a clarion call to a return to the "simple faith" of the founders of Quakerism, a "spiritual conception of the world arising as an attempt to explain a revelatory experience." This may be reached best in the meeting for worship, often a silent meeting devoid of forms and ceremonies.

Those who believe that the chief mission of the Society of Friends is to assist the oppressed of all nations will not agree with the author's feeling that we are members of a *Religious* Society; that our first duty is a "watchful and loving care over our own members"; that there should be a return to simplicity and an avoidance of "scattered endeavors" urged by "inexperienced and curiously uninformed" Friends.

The chapter on "Peace" quotes from the preachings of George Fox and Isaac Penington and from the writings of Edward Burrough and Robert Barclay. These references and the minutes of 1706 and 1711 prove that early Friends in Pennsylvania testified against soldiering but, as in the case of the Quaker Assembly, voted money requested by the Queen for military protection. It is well known that a large body of Friends, led by James Logan, openly supported defensive measures urged by Benjamin Franklin. Many references to the active work of Friends in the several colonies proves that the historical position of our members has not been peace at any price, but, that in cases of great collective oppression, mere submission only renders the objects of the oppressor more easily obtained.

Some Friends may disagree with the positive philosophy of the writer but the pamphlet merits the careful consideration of every Friend whose

vision is sufficiently broad to realize that the present state of our Society does not appear to hold as its primary objective a simple, inspired spiritual yearning among its own members, but sometimes substitutes therefor the world wide charities of a purely philanthropic organization.

HOWARD COOPER JOHNSON

Philadelphia

The Potters and Potteries of Chester County, Pennsylvania, by Arthur E. James. West Chester, Chester County Historical Society, 1945. 116 pp. $2.00.

IN WRITING this book about the oldest of all arts Arthur James has done an important service to students of local history, to those who treasure heirlooms of earthenware, and most of all to those who want to know more of the comparatively unknown Quaker cultural background of rural Pennsylvania—"the pit out of which they were digged," to use a figure appropriate to this subject. This book is tightly packed with much interesting information secured with painstaking care. As a professor of chemistry Arthur James is able to describe with scientific skill the tools and techniques of the potters and the location and character of their materials. Forty-two individual potteries are dealt with in detail. At least sixteen of these were run by Quakers, including the pottery of Aaron James, the author's ancestor. Mahlon Brosius, Levi Coates and John Vickers were Quakers, Abolitionists and potters. Their potteries were stations on the underground railroad and Negroes were helped to freedom in wagons which peddled their wares.

The most famous Chester County potter was that many-sided genius, Jesse Kersey, of Downingtown, one of the most powerful itinerant Quaker ministers of his time, whose journal, essays and *Treatise* on Quaker doctrines (printed three times in Philadelphia in 1815, once in London the same year, and again in Philadelphia in German in 1816) were once widely read. It is interesting to learn from this book on pottery that Kersey had also published some "Lectures on Agriculture" and that, though always poor, he was the founder of the Lukens Steel Company and of the town of Coatesville, named after his father-in-law, Moses Coates.

The Quaker cultural contribution to America was mainly in the field of religion, morality and family life and very little in the arts. These potters made, for the most part, practical household utensils with little adornment. Yet the illustrations in the book show that they had a true sense of line and proportion which is characteristic of the best "folk-art," and all the better for not being too deliberate or self-conscious.

HOWARD H. BRINTON

Pendle Hill

Jonathan Dickinson's Journal, or God's Protecting Providence. Being the Narrative of a Journey from Port Royal in Jamaica to Philadelphia between August 23, 1696 and April 1, 1697. Edited by Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles McLean Andrews. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1945. 252 pp. $3.00.

IN AUGUST, 1696, Jonathan Dickinson, Quaker planter and merchant, left Port Royal, Jamaica, for Philadelphia, in the barkentine *Reformation*. He was accompanied by his wife and infant son, and the ship's company included Robert Barrow, a travelling minister of the indomitable type which was doing so much to lay firm the foundations of the Society of Friends. Encountering a severe storm, the *Reformation,* just a month after its departure, was wrecked on the Florida coast a few miles north of the modern Palm Beach, and the castaways found themselves at the mercy of the local Indians. Their captors accorded them such mingled demonstrations of cupidity, cruelty, and compassion that the mental distress occasioned by the uncertainty of their situation must have been as onerous as their physical suffering. They were stripped of all their possessions, and their lives were frequently threatened. None was killed however, although several died of privation on the terrible journey to the north which the Indians were finally induced to permit them to undertake. As they reached the area of Spanish occupation their lot greatly improved. They were treated with consideration by the governor and inhabitants of St. Augustine, and proceeded on to Charleston refreshed and re-equipped, though still having much to endure. The final passage to Philadelphia was made by sea, thus completing a journey of a little more than seven months. Robert Barrow survived his arrival by only a few days.

Unlike some other historically significant travelogues which are now appearing in print for the first time, *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal* is the veteran of some sixteen printings in English, three in German and one in Dutch. It was issued primarily as a religious tract, though some editions appear to owe their existence solely to its qualities as a story of adventure. The present edition is the first to appear since 1868. It thus performs an eminently useful function in supplying the text of a classic long out of print. But it does vastly more than this. Its editors have combined mature and meticulous scholarship with high literary gifts and a broad and mellow understanding of the various historical problems suggested by the *Journal.* Not every work the introduction and appendices to which bulk twice as large as the original text could prudently be recommended to the general reader, but there need be no hesitancy here. Such varied matters as personalities, the countryside, and the rig of ships are all handled with the same sure touch, and the account of the evolution of Friends' headquarters and meetinghouses in London would alone be enough amply to justify the appearance of this volume.

One's pleasure in reading it is tempered only by the realization that the fruitful collaboration which produced it has been terminated by the passing of Charles M. Andrews.

LEONIDAS DODSON
University of Pennsylvania

Conrad Weiser, 1696-1760, Friend of Colonist and Mohawk, by Paul A. W. Wallace. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945. 648 pp. $5.00.

THE INDIANS called him *Tarachiawagon*—"Holder of the Heavens"—highest name in the Iroquois pantheon. Colonial authorities looked to him as their chief ambassador to the Six Nations. Conrad Weiser was more than a mere interpreter; he was a statesman of wisdom and discretion, thoroughly conversant with the elaborate protocol of forest diplomacy, sympathetic with Indian psychology, yet loyal to the Proprietors and people of Pennsylvania. To his consummate skill in face-to-face dealing with the shrewd Iroquois chieftains was actually due a large measure of the success which William Penn's "peace policy" managed to achieve under the administration of the Founder's less capable and far-seeing sons. A pious Lutheran after a brief monastic interlude at Ephrata, Conrad Weiser remained, in spite of his important rôle in public affairs, one of the "plain people" of the Pennsylvania back country. He was, however, no pacifist; "his strategy," we are told, "was to keep the Six Nations strong [as a buffer against the French]. Whether it was good tactics to use the war hatchet or the peace belt to that end, the exigencies of a developing situation would have to determine" (page 230).

In treating the Indian relations of colonial Pennsylvania, the author of this massive biography is traversing controversial ground—ground which has been fought over by generations of pro- and anti-Quaker historians from the time of Charles Thomson's *Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians* (1759) and William Smith's *Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania* (1755) to our own day, when Isaac Sharpless and Rayner Kelsey have defended the Quaker policy, and Julian Boyd and Theodore Thayer (to mention only the most recent) have attacked it.

Like Weiser, Paul A. W. Wallace is no pacifist, but he avoids bitter partisanship and steers a judicious middle course between extremes of historical interpretation. He admits that the "Walking Purchase" of 1737 was "a nasty business," but adds that "it was not as wicked as the political enemies of the Proprietors made it out to be" (p. 97). He feels that Friends were taken in by the egregious Teedyuscung, bibulous king of the Delawares, and he appears to agree with Weiser "that 'land fraud' was little more than a convenient slogan which the French and the Quakers used to incite the Delawares against Pennsylvania's Governor and Council" (p. 528). He pictures Israel Pemberton, leading spokesman

of the "Friendly Association," as "self-righteous, censorious, and impatient of any light but his own" (p. 485). Perhaps there is truth in these charges. What they suggest to this reviewer is the need for a new study of Quaker-Indian relations in Pennsylvania which shall be done with the same thorough scholarship that is exhibited in this book, but with a genuine understanding of the motivation that lay behind the efforts of the "Friendly Association."

Wallace's book is a redoubtable piece of research. Drawing upon hundreds of new manuscript sources, he has put together a portrait which is more detailed than any other biography of a colonial Pennsylvanian that comes to mind except Van Doren's *Benjamin Franklin.* Sometimes the details get out of control, and the reader has a hard time keeping the main outlines in view in the deluge of facts. But the book is kept from lapsing into dullness by Wallace's unfailingly lively and literate style. No one can henceforth discuss the Indian relations of eighteenth-century Pennsylvania without having mastered the facts in this important biography.

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

Civilian Public Service

Pioneer Sketches of the Upper Whitewater Valley, Quaker Stronghold of the West by Bernhard Knollenberg. Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1945. 171 pp. 75 cents.

THIS volume is precisely described by its title. It is largely excerpts from a variety of pioneer records brought into a unified and chronological narrative covering the years 1805-1853. In twenty brief chapters the author, who is a native of the Whitewater valley, traces by means of a series of vignettes the settlement and growth of eastern Indiana and the city of Richmond, in which pioneer Friends had so large a part. The Quaker propensity for keeping journals and writing reminiscences makes possible this sort of narrative. David Hoover, Edward Bond, William Williams, Henry Hoover, Aaron White, Levi Coffin, and Nathan Thomas are some of the Friends who left colorful accounts of life in the Whitewater valley. Some of these narratives are well known and readily available, while others are less familiar and not easily accessible. For the inquirer into Friends' history, the excerpts provide a kind of appetizer, luring the reader to further perusal of each record cited. Other elements in the social structure were the Methodists, and German immigrants who came to the valley before mid-century. Among the latter was Bernhard Knollenberg, ancestor of the author.

The narrative flows along smoothly, with only an occasional excess of prepositions and articles to mar the style. Without pretending to write a complete history of the Whitewater valley, the author has succeeded admirably in showing its development by a series of pictures which

convince the reader that eastern Indiana was an extremely interesting place in the early days. At least that was the effect on this reviewer who is also a native of the Whitewater valley.

Not the least interesting portion of his narrative is the author's account of his own journey (in 1940) by boat from Richmond down the East Fork of Whitewater, into the Whitewater, the Miami, and on into the Ohio river. A large though not exhaustive bibliography and an adequate index conclude the work.

RUTH KETRING NUERMBERGER

Washington, D. C.

BRIEFER NOTICES

BY HENRY J. CADBURY

ON ACCOUNT of the Tercentenary of the birth of William Penn which was celebrated in 1944, articles, reprints, etc., called forth thereby are with some earlier minor publications connected with him listed together at the beginning of this collection.

THE October, 1944, issue of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (vol. 68, no. 4) was devoted to articles on Penn as follows: "William Penn's Religious Background" (pp. 341-358), by William Wistar Comfort; "Persecution and Religious Liberty, Then and Now" (pp. 359-371), by Henry J. Cadbury; "William Penn's Experiment in Race Relations" (pp. 372-387), by Thomas E. Drake; "Influence of William Penn on International Relations" (pp. 388-397), by Thomas Raeburn White; "William Penn and City Planning" (pp. 398-418, illustrated), by William E. Lingelbach. Under documents was offered the hitherto unpublished journal of Penn's travels in Kent and Sussex, 1672 (pp. 419-429), edited by Henry J. Cadbury. William W. Comfort's article was also reprinted in pamphlet form (20 pp.) as the Rufus M. Jones Lecture, 1944, by Upper Dublin United Monthly Meeting, Ambler, Pennsylvania.

THE Historical Review of Berks County begins its anniversary number with "Some Thoughts on William Penn," by Stanley R. Yarnall (vol. 10, no. 1, October, 1944, pp. 3-5).

FRIENDS Council on Education has published *William Penn's Advice to His Children* (Philadelphia, 1944, 67 pp.), consisting of an Introduction by Elizabeth Janet Gray, his *Letter to his Wife and Children*, dated 1682, but first published in 1760, and *Fruits of a Father's Love*, also first published posthumously in 1726.

FELIX MORLEY'S Tercentenary address to the Huntingdon County Historical Society on October 27, 1944, has been printed as a pamphlet by the Society under the title, "Penn Is Still With Us." (Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, [11] pp.)

NO CROSS NO CROWN, abridged by Anna Cox Brinton (Pendle Hill Historical Studies, no. 7, 1944, 38 pp.), is a careful selection, using both 1669 and 1682 editions but having one half the compass of the first or one tenth the compass of the second, with a literary introduction.

PENN'S *Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe* has been reprinted in *International Conciliation*, no. 394 (1943), pp. 569-585.

THE Peace and Service Committee of Friends General Conference have produced for the three hundredth anniversary of his birth an edition of William Penn's *Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe* (Philadelphia, 1944, 32 pp.). It is based on the edition published by Friends in London in 1936 and is provided with a portrait of the author. Esther Holmes Jones has written the Introduction and an "Outline of the Essay with some Notes and Questions" (pp. 27-32).

A BIOGRAPHY of Penn's childhood intended for children aged eight to twelve is *William Penn, Friendly Boy*, by Miriam Evangeline Mason (Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1944, 210 pp.).

AN attractive booklet, *Your Friend, William Penn* (Philadelphia, The Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company, 24 pp.), combines a sympathetic narrative text with appropriate quotations and numerous illustrations. It was prepared by Carroll Frey and distributed by the company in both cloth and paper cover editions.

POPULAR American magazines to notice Penn with brief articles were: *The Reader's Digest*, December, 1944, pp. 45-48; *Life*, October 16, 1944, pp. 67-75; *Fortune*, June, 1944, pp. 162-3. The last two were handsomely illustrated.

THE *Christian Century* had two brief articles in the autumn of 1944: "William Penn, American," by Mary W. Hess (vol. 61, p. 1194), and "Penn, the Pioneer," by Henry J. Cadbury (pp. 1412-3).

WILLIAM PENN 1644-1944: A Twentieth Century Estimate, by Herbert G. Wood, is an address on Penn as statesman and theologian, printed in pamphlet form, dealing especially with his *Essay on the Peace of Europe* and his *Address to Protestants*. (London, Friends Book Centre, 1944, 18 pp.)

CLIFFORD B. FREEMAN has written a thoughtful and penetrating estimate of "William Penn after Three Hundred Years" in *The London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, vol. 169 (1944), pp. 344-352.

"WILLIAM PENN, a Ter-centenary Appreciation," by Gerald K. Hibbert, is in the *Congregational Quarterly*, vol. 22 (1944), pp. 331-337.

LEST WE FORGET, a William Penn Tercentenary Recollection on Religious Liberty, by Stanley R. Yarnall (reprinted from *The Friend*, Philadelphia, 1944, 16 pp.), is in large part a review with quotations of the book, *Penn and Religious Liberty*, which contains the exercises of an interdenominational gathering held in 1908 in Philadelphia to celebrate the 225th anniversary of the city's founding.

THOMAS E. DRAKE published an illustrated account of the Penn treasures in the Quaker Collection at Haverford College in *The Haverford Review*, under the title, "Penn at Haverford" (vol. 3, no. 2, summer, 1944, pp. 6-8, 31-32).

THE only bibliographical study to mention in this connection is J. H. Powell's "William Penn's Writings: an Anniversary Essay," in *Pennsylvania History*, vol. 11 (1944), pp. 233-259.

A STUDY of "William Penn and Isaac Penington" by Mary W. Hess appeared in *The Commonweal*, vol. 40 (1944), pp. 153-5.

HENRY THOMAS and Dana Arnold Schnittkind are the producers of several books called "Living Biographies." In their *Living Biographies of American Statesmen* (Garden City Publishing Company, 1942) William Penn is dealt with on pp. 19-31.

WILLIAM PENN is presented as an opponent of democracy, as a Sybarite, and a compromiser, and as failing in his own ideals, in chapter 16 by Victor Francis Calverton's *The Awakening of America* (New York, John Day Company, 1939). This book, which aims "to reread American history up to 1750 in terms of the ruled instead of the rulers, the underdogs instead of the top dogs," gives plenty of credit elsewhere, especially in chapter 9, to the Friends as "Religious Equalitarians." This unusual approach sets Penn off as a defender of the rights of the proprietor against the freemen, the exactor of feudal quitrents, and the opponent of free government by the Assembly. In spite of some errors in detail and defects in presentation the book is worth reading for its challenge.

AMONG the "Apostles of Religious Liberty" to which William W. Sweet devotes a chapter of his *Makers of Christianity from John Cotton to Lyman Abbott* (New York, Henry Holt, 1937), one is William Penn (pp. 62-72). The book is an account of American Church history and is in a series intended for children. As such the brief review of William Penn's life was worth including.

ERNEST SUNDERLAND BATES'S *American Faith, Its Religious, Political and Economic Foundations* (New York, W. W. Norton & Company, 1940) contains as chapter 12 "The Rise and Rule of the Quakers" (pp. 176-204), of which pp. 184-197 provides an appreciative but not uncritical sketch of William Penn. The whole chapter is an excellent and well written summary of the Quaker contribution to American ideals.

IN *Pennsylvania History*, vol. 8 (1941), pp. 278-303, J. Carroll Hayes presented an article entitled "Penn vs. Lord Baltimore: a Brief for the Penns."

IN *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle* published by the General Alumni Society of the University of Pennsylvania, Norman H. Mason asks "Why Philadelphia?" vol. 42 (1940), pp. 481-491. His answer is that William Penn probably named it not for the Bible city or the Greek word for brotherly love but for some woman of his earlier interest. Philadelphia was used as a woman's name frequently prior to the time of Penn as well as at least twice among his descendants.

IN connection with the Tercentenary of William Penn two early poems about him, a poem on William Leddra and one to the memory of David Sands, are published by Henry J. Cadbury under the title "Whittier's Early Quaker Poems," in the *New England Quarterly*, vol. 18 (1945), pp. 251-256. Three of the four pieces were printed in the *Free Press*, Newburyport, in the latter part of 1826.

THE October, 1944, number of *The Junior Historian*, published by The Pennsylvania Federation of Junior Historians, contains a number of articles on William Penn, including "Life of William Penn" by Daniel Burns; "The Social Philosophy of William Penn" by Park B. Dilks, Jr., and "William Penn—The Man of the Ages, Plan of Union for the American Colonies" by Anna May Wall. Also, in the issue of this periodical for February, 1945, there is an article by Mary Lawler on "William Penn, the Modern Peace-Maker."

OF THE considerable number of extant letters from William Penn to James Harrison, his steward at Pennsbury, brief selections from seventeen of them, written in 1685-87, are included in an address by Charles B. Montgomery delivered to the Welcome Society of Pennsylvania in 1938, and published in that society's *Records and Activities* (Philadelphia, 1940, pp. 121-135). A similar but independent publication of "The Penn Correspondence in Relation to Pennsbury" was made in *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, vol. 41 (1939), pp. 397-410.

SIR WILLIAM G. BENHAM contributed an article on "William Penn and George Fox in Essex, 1677," in *Essex Review*, vol. 44 (1935), pp. 172-179. Following William Penn's Journal of Travels he describes their journey for Holland and discusses those Friends that they met when they embarked from or landed at Colchester as well as Benjamin Furly and other companions on the journey.

THE *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, vol. 4 (1944), pp. 209-219, published an article by Joseph Jackson on "William Penn's Interest in Catholics." Among other editorial references to Penn in the same issue there is a reminder that in its earlier series of records in the first volume, the founder of the Society, Martin I. J. Griffin, published an article on "William Penn, the Friend of the Catholics." This was reprinted in the *Records*, vol. 47 (1936), pp. 249-266, more than fifty years later.

M. LUTHER HEISEY writing on "William Penn in the Conestoga Valley" in *Papers Read before the Lancaster County Historical Society*, vol. 48 (1944), pp. 140-144, restates what is known of Penn's visit there in 1701, of which a marker erected in Manor Township is shown in an illustration, and also presents reasons to believe that the founder made a journey into this hinterland as early as 1683.

IN THE *Library Bulletin 1944* of the American Philosophical Society William E. Lingelbach, the Librarian, reviews the "William Penn Documents in the Library" (Philadelphia, 1945, pp. 55-64, illustrated). Though these treasures are not numerous they are important; some of them have only recently been brought to light, and others though known have been little used. They are "predominantly political in character." Two items however are personal; Penn's Cash Book and his Apology for himself, of which the first is barely noted here, and the second not at all. See for these this BULLETIN, vol. 34, pp. 5ff., notes 24, 35 and 47.

A COLLECTION of William Penn Tercentenary addresses including those made at the meetings in Philadelphia in the Arch Street meetinghouse and at the Academy of Music is entitled *Tributes to William Penn: a Tercentenary Record, 1644-1944* (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1946, xiv, 126 pp.). A foreword by Governor Martin summarizes the activities of the William Penn Tercentenary Committee. This committee is responsible for this publication as for the earlier volume, *Remember William Penn*. See this BULLETIN, 33 (1944), 85-86 and 34 (1945), 25-33.

[Thirty Penn articles of minor interest in popular and specialized periodicals not mentioned here have been filed in the Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library.—EDITOR.]

THE Centennial Issue of *The Prison Journal*, vol. 25, no. 1, January, 1945, in reflecting the history not only of the Journal first issued in January, 1845, as the *Pennsylvania Journal of Prison Discipline and Philanthropy*, but also of the Pennsylvania Prison Society, founded in 1787, and of penal progress and of concepts of criminal justice, has many references to Friends as a group or as individuals concerned.

A SUMMARY of the history of Quakerism in Nantucket was published in the island's paper, *The Inquirer and Mirror*, vol. 123, 1945, April 14, in announcing the transfer to the museum on the island of the old Quaker records.

ARTICLES by Robert J. Leach on the "Early Quaker Families of Nantucket Island" have been published in *The Inquirer and Mirror* (Nantucket, vol. 123, 1945) as follows: I. (March 17) The Nathaniel Starbucks; II. (March 24) The Stephen Husseys; III. (April 14) The John Swains; IV. (April 21) The Richard Gardners; V. (April 28) The John Folgers; VI (May 5) The Joseph Colemans; VI. [sic!] (May 14) The Stephen Coffins; VII. (May 19) The Nathaniel Barnard, Jrs.

AS A PART of the commemoration of the 275th anniversary of its founding in 1670, the Hudson's Bay Company issued in June, 1945, a handsomely illustrated number of their magazine, *The Beaver*. Of interest to Friends is the article (pp. 22-25) by Alice Johnson on Charles Bayly, the Quaker, who was the "First Governor of the Bay." The author has collected together the few facts known about the life of Charles Bayly, and has illustrated the article with pictures of the Tower of London where he was imprisoned for five years; Moose Factory, founded by Bayly in 1673, and St. Paul's Church in Convent Garden where the Company "bestowed an honourable buryall on him" in 1680.

EARLHAM COLLEGE *Bulletin* for October, 1944, contains an attractively illustrated and interestingly written sketch of Earlham's history and future plans. Its title is "Where the Roads of Quakerdom Cross: A Bit of History Important in the Annals of the Society of Friends."

SHADES of the "Early Quaker Families of Nantucket Island," as Robert J. Leach describes them in the Nantucket *Inquirer and Mirror*! In the same issue with the article on the Nathaniel Barnard, Jrs. (May 19, 1945) is an advertisement for "Quaker Window Cleaning," whatever that is!

IN *The American Magazine* for November, 1945 (pp. 45 and 141), Gordon Gaskill, an American war correspondent, describes his visit in the Quaker neighborhood of Jordans, England, and his discovery of the barn which is said to have been built from the sturdy oak timbers of the vessel that brought the Pilgrim fathers to America more than three centuries ago. The article is illustrated with an excellent photograph of the "Mayflower Barn."

ARTICLES IN QUAKER PERIODICALS

By Frederick B. Tolles and Dorothy G. Harris

The Friend (Philadelphia)

"William Penn, Armiger," by S. L. H. V. (H. Justice Williams), discusses Penn's coat-of-arms.—October 12, 1944, p. 120.

"Penn and the Poets," by Elizabeth Janet Gray, points out that although in general Penn disapproved of poetry, the poet Abraham Cowley was one of his favorite authors.—October 26, 1944, pp. 133-135.

"The Effects of Conscription on European Quakerism," by Leslie D. Shaffer, demonstrates that conscription was largely responsible for the disintegration of early Quaker groups on the European continent.—November 9, 1944, pp. 147-149.

"The Peace Movement in Japan," by Gilbert Bowles, gives attention to the important rôle played by the author, a Kansas Friend, who worked in Japan from 1899 to 1941 under the auspices of the Foreign Mission Board of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch Street).—November 23, December 7 and 21, 1944, pp. 165-169, 181-185, 197-201.

"William Penn," by J. Garner Anthony, is a transcript of an address given by the former Attorney General of Hawaii at the Penn Tercentenary program in Honolulu.—February 1, 1945, pp. 247-250.

"The Last Third of a Century," by D. Lawrence Burgess, sketches developments at Germantown Friends School during the last thirty-three of its one hundred years.—April 26, 1945, pp. 341-344.

Friends Intelligencer

"George Fox's Journal, 1694-1944," by Henry J. Cadbury, discusses the circumstances of publication of this classic of the varieties of religious experience.—December 23, 1944, pp. 839-840.

"John Bright, Friend and Politician," by Mary G. Cary, is a biographical sketch with the suggestion that modern Friends would do well to imitate Bright by taking part in politics.—March 31, 1945, pp. 205-206.

"Lavender and the Grand Turk," by Martha Serene Lewis, tells the story of Mary Fisher's visit to the Sultan in 1658.—June 9, 1945, pp. 366-368.

"Did the Germans Understand Quaker Relief?" by Walter Fales, draws on the archives of the American Friends Service Committee to show both appreciation and criticism of the Committee's work in 1920.—July 7, 1945, pp. 429-431.

"Tuke's Retreat for the Mentally Ill," by Hugh Chapman, is an account of the York Retreat, first modern mental hospital, written by a C. P. S. attendant in a mental hospital.—July 21, 1945, pp. 461-462.

The American Friend

"William Penn: Apostle of Liberty and Human Rights," by Rufus M. Jones.—October 19, 1944, pp. 417-419.

"The Statesmanship of William Penn," by Harlow Lindley.—October 19, 1944, p. 420-421.

"William Penn—Pioneer" was a radio address by T. Edmund Harvey.—November 16, 1944, pp. 456-457.

"A French and English Alliance: Stephen Grellet and Elizabeth Fry," by William J. Sayers, discusses the personal relationships of these two nineteenth century Friends.—May 3 and 17, 1945, pp. 164-165, 187-188.

The Friend (London)

"The Background of French Quakerism" gives a summary of the Quaker movement in France from the time of the convincement of the first Frenchman in 1706 through the present critical war years, in which French Friends have been able to carry on their corporate religious and relief activities.—September 1, 1944, pp. 564-566.

The Penn Tercentenary number contains Rufus M. Jones's estimate of William Penn as "Apostle of Liberty and Human Rights."—October 13, 1944, pp. 659-663.

The life of "Arthur Stanley Eddington, 1882-1944," outstanding Quaker astronomer, whose great intellectual and spiritual gifts included true humility and kindness of spirit, is recorded by the Quaker physicist, George A. Sutherland, of the University of Manchester.—December 1, 1944, pp. 775-777.

In "Light from the Rhineland," Rufus M. Jones reviews the movement of six hundred years ago known as "Friends of God." Members of this Rhineland group, in their mystical interpretation of Christianity and their belief in the power of the inward spirit to transform man's life, are thought to be the spiritual ancestors of Friends.—March 2, 1945, pp. 133-136.

"The Strange Episode of the Russian 'Quakers'," by Tom D. Copeman, is an intriguing account of a brief contact in 1921 between two Quaker relief workers and a group of Russian pacifists calling themselves "Quakers." They claimed that their group had been started "300 years ago by someone from England."—April 27, 1945, pp. 265-266.